

## Message Text

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ACTION EA-12

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 IO-13 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05  
H-01 INR-10 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 SP-02  
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USMISSION GENEVA  
AMEMBASSY VIENNA  
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK

C O N F I D E N T I A L PEKING 2299

E.O. 11652: GDS  
TAGS: PARM, CH, US  
SUBJ: STANFORD VISIT: PRC VIEWS ON NUCLEAR WEAPONS AND  
JAPANESE REARMAMENT

1. SUMMARY: INDICATIVE OF THE CHANGES TAKING PLACE IN CHINA,  
A STANFORD UNIVERSITY GROUP WHICH VISITED THE PRC IN JULY  
UNDER THE AUSPICES OF THE CHINESE PEOPLE'S INSTITUTE FOR  
FOREIGN AFFAIRS (CPIFA) ENGAGED THEIR HOSTS IN SIX HOURS  
OF DISCUSSIONS FOCUSED ON VARIOUS PAPERS PREPARED BY THE  
GROUP ON REGIONAL AND DISARMAMENT ISSUES. THIS IS THE FIRST  
INSTANCE OF THE CHINESE ENGAGING IN A DIALOG OF THIS TYPE  
WITH AN AMERICAN GROUP OF WHICH WE ARE AWARE. END SUMMARY.

2. A SEVEN-MEMBER STANFORD UNIVERSITY GROUP LED BY JOHN  
LEWIS, PROFESSOR OF CHINESE POLITICS, AND DOUGLAS MURRAY,  
DIRECTOR OF THE CHINA PROJECT AT STANFORD, VISITED PEKING  
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FROM JULY 10 THROUGH 15 AT THE INVITATION IF THE CPIFA.  
OTHER MEMBERS OF THE GROUP INCLUDED HENRY ROWEN, PROFESSOR  
AT THE STANFORD SCHOOL OF BUSINESS AND FORMER PRESIDENT  
OF RAND; SYDNEY DRELL, DEPUTY DIRECTOR OF THE STANFORD LINEAR  
ACCELERATOR CENTER; ALEXANDER DALLIN, PROFESSOR OF HISTORY  
AND POLITICAL SCIENCE AND CHAIRMAN OF THE COUNCIL ON SOVIET  
STUDIES IN THE USA; DANIEL OKIMOTO, ASSISTANT PROFESSOR

OF POLITICAL SCIENCE; AND FRANKLIN WEINSTEIN, DIRECTOR OF THE STANFORD US-JAPAN RELATIONS PROJECT.

3. THE GROUP BROUGHT WITH THEM A SERIES OF PAPERS WHICH THEY HOPED TO USE AS THE BASIS FOR A SERIES OF SEMINARS WITH THEIR CHINESE HOSTS. THE TITLES OF THE PAPERS WERE AS FOLLOWS: US AND JAPANESE ROLES IN ASIAN SECURITY AND POSSIBLE FUTURE DEVELOPMENTS (WEINSTEIN); THE US-JAPAN ALLIANCE AND JAPANESE ROLE IN ASIA (OKIMOTO); THE SOVIET CHALLENGE: AN AMERICAN PERSPECTIVE (DALLIN); NOTES ON THE US-SOVIET GLOBAL WEAPONS (ROWEN); SALT AND ARMS CONTROL (DRELL); AND NOTES ON THE SPREAD OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS (ROWEN).

4. ALTHOUGH THE CPIFA HAD BEEN APPRISED OF THE GROUP'S INTENTIONS PRIOR TO EXTENDING THE INVITATION FOR THE VISIT, THE GROUP WAS UNCERTAIN ON ITS ARRIVAL WHETHER THE CHINESE WOULD IN FACT ENGAGE IN THE SORT OF SUBSTANTIVE GIVE AND TAKE DISCUSSION WHICH THE GROUP HOPED TO ELICIT. AS IT TURNED OUT, THE CPIFA AGREED TO USE THE PAPERS AS A STARTING POINT FOR THEIR TALKS, AND THE GROUP SPENT APPROXIMATELY SIX HOURS, SPREAD OVER TWO CONSECUTIVE DAYS, WITH CPIFA PRESIDENT HAO TE-CHING DISCUSSING THESE AND OTHER TOPICS. HAO'S COMMENTS PREDICTABLY ADHERED CLOSELY TO WELL-KNOWN CHINESE POSITIONS, BUT THE GROUP FELT NEVERTHELESS THAT IT HAD MADE AN IMPORTANT BREAK-THROUGH IN ENGAGING THE CHINESE IN A SUBSTANTIVE DIALOG OF THIS TYPE.  
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5. IN THE COURSE OF THESE DISCUSSIONS, HAO MADE A NUMBER OF INTERESTING COMMENTS ON ARMS CONTROL MATTERS.

A) NO FIRST USE OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS. HAO SAID THAT SINCE THE US AND PRC BOTH AGREE THAT THE SOVIETS HAVE CONVENTIONAL ARMS SUPERIORITY IN EUROPE, THE STANFORD GROUP WILL HAVE NOTICED THAT THE CHINESE NO LONGER SPEAK OF NO FIRST USE IN THE EUROPEAN CONTEXT. (COMMENT: HAO'S STATEMENT WOULD SEEM TO CONFIRM A GRADUAL SHIFT IN THE CHINESE PERCEPTION OF THIS QUESTION OVER THE LAST FEW YEARS.) HAO FURTHER STATED THAT BECAUSE US AND PRC NUCLEAR WEAPONS ARE NOT TARGETED ON EACH OTHER, NO USEFUL PURPOSE WOULD BE SERVED BY A US-PRC NO FIRST USE PLEDGE.

B) NUCLEAR FREE ZONES (NFZ). HAO FELT THAT THIS CONCEPT WOULD BE MEANINGLESS UNLESS ALL COUNTRIES POSSESSING NUCLEAR WEAPONS AGREED TO PARTICIPATE.

C) JAPANESE REARMAMENT. HAO OUTSPOKENLY FAVORED RAPID JAPANESE REARMAMENT, BUT QUALIFIED THIS BY STATING THERE ARE LIMITS BEYOND WHICH THE JAPANESE SHOULD NOT GO. HOWEVER, HE SAW NO

IMMEDIATE DANGER OF A REVIVAL OF JAPANESE MILITARISM.

6. THE GROUP WAS ENCOURAGED BY THE NATURE OF THEIR RECEPTION  
IN PEKING, WHICH INCLUDED ATTENDANCE BY FOREIGN MINISTRY  
AMERICAN AND OCEANIAN DEPARTMENT DIRECTOR LIN PING AT THE  
WELCOMING AND FAREWELL BANQUETS.

7. COPIES OF THE PAPERS ARE BEING POUCHED TO THE DEPARTMENT.  
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## Message Attributes

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